

## Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1104

S E C R E T ALEXANDRIA 0813

NODIS

DEPT PASS SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR IN ALEXANDRIA

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), JO, US, U

7?3:5: FAHMY ON PLO STATEMENT

REF: SECTO 08075

SUMMARY: INFORMED FAHMY TODAY THAT PLO DRAFT FORMULATION RE RESOLUTION 242 INSUFFICIENT. IN GIVING HIM DRAFT REFORMULATION CITED REFTEL, I ADDED (A) FORMULATION YOU AND HE HAD ORIGINALLY DEVISED HAD NOW ALSO BEEN SENT TO SAUDIS TO AVOID ANY FURTHER CONFUSION AND (B) IN ADDITION, DRAFT REFORMULATION HAS BEEN SENT TO SAUDIS, SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS TO INSURE WE ALL WORKING FROM SAME TEXT. FAHMY CLEARLY EXPECTED PLO DRAFT FORMULATION BE TURNED DOWN AND AT ONCE AGREED SEND YOUR REFORMULATION TO ARAFAT FOR STUDY. HE WAS SLIGHTLY UPSET THAT IN ADDITION TO EGYPTIANS AND SAUDIS, DRAFT REFORMULATION HAS BEEN SENT TO SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS. HE OPINED THEY WILL USE IT TO ABORT EFFORT TO ESTABLISH OPEN USG-PLO DIALOGUE, WHICH HE ARGUED NEITHER OF THEM WANTS, AND WONDERED OUT LOUD IF OUR ACTION WAS DELIBERATE EFFORT TO SCUTTLE IDEA BEFORE IT GOT OFF GROUND. I DENIED ANY SUCH INTENTION AND RE-EMPHASIZED OUR SOLE PURPOSE IS INSURE THAT ALL PARTIES

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KNOW WHAT WE ARE SAYING AND TO AVOID ANY CONFUSION OR MISUNDERSTANDING. FAHMY THOUGHT SAUDIS AND EGYPTIANS COULD TOGETHER WORK ON PLO THROUGH WHAT WOULD PROBABLY BE FOUR OR FIVE EXCHANGES TO AGREE ON A SATISFACTORY FORMULATION, BUT PROFESSED TO BE LESS SANGUINE RE PROSPECTS WITH SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS NOW ALSO INVOLVED. HE EMPHASIZED ANY DIALOGUE WE EVENTUALLY INTIATE WITH

PLO SHOULD BE OPEN AND ABOVE BOARD IF PLO IS TO BE ASKED  
TAKE RISK OF ISSUING STATEMENT OF TYPE WE REQUIRE.  
END SUMMARY.

1. MET WITH FAHMY THIS MORNING TO CONVEY YOUR REACTION  
TO PLO DRAFT FORMULATION RE RESOLUTION 242(ALEXANDRIA  
805). TOLD HIM YOU SHARE VIEW I HAD EARLIER EXPRESSED  
TO HIM THAT PROPOSED PLO FORMULATION DOES NOT IN FACT  
CONSTITUTE AN ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242. AS FAHMY  
WOULD APPRECIATE, IF WE AGREED TO OPEN CONTACTS WITH  
PLO ON BASIS SUCH FORMULATION, WE WOULD BE VULNERABLE  
TO CHARGES OF BAD FAITH. THIS WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT  
TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT AT HOME FOR WHAT WILL IN ANY CASE  
BE A CONTROVERSIAL MOVE ON OUR PART. WHILE WE DO NOT  
INSIST THAT PLO RESERVATION BE WORDED PRECISELY ALONG  
LINES YOU AND FAHMY HAD AGREED UPON, IT SHOULD NOT BE  
WORDED IN A MANNER THAT IMPLIES CONTINUED NON-ACCEPTANCE.  
ALSO TOLD HIM THAT WE HAVE NOW SENT SAUDIS THE  
FORMULATION YOU AND HE HAD AGREED UPON SO THAT THERE  
WOULD BE NO FURTHER CONFUSION, ESPECIALLY AFTER SAUDIS  
HAD GIVEN ARAFAT A FORMULATION OF THEIR OWN WHICH VARIES  
FROM THAT YOU AND HE HAD DEVISED.

2. I THEN GAVE FAHMY THE PROPOSED REFORMULATION,  
INDICATING YOU WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION IF HE SHOULD WISH  
TO SUGGEST IT TO THE PLO. HE READ IT AND OBSERVED IT IS  
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VERY SIMILAR TO THE FORMULATION YOU AND HE HAD AGREED  
UPON. HE WAS CLEARLY PREPARED FOR A REJECTION OF THE  
PLO PROPOSED FORMULATION. HE GAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO AN  
AIDE TO SEND THE REFORMULATION TO ARAFAT AT ONCE AND TO  
ELICIT HIS VIEWS. SHOULD IT BE DESIRABLE TO DO SO,  
FAHMY NOTED, HE WILL INVITE ARAFAT TO COME TO ALEXANDRIA  
AGAIN.

3. WHEN I TOLD HIM THAT WE ARE ALSO GIVING REFORMULATION  
TO SAUDIS, SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS, FAHMY WAS SOMEWHAT  
UPSET. HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO GIVING IT TO THE SAUDIS,  
BUT OPINED THAT THE SYRIANS AND THE JORDANIANS WILL FOR  
REASONS OF THEIR OWN TORPEDO THE EFFORT. HUSSEIN IS NOT  
ANXIOUS THAT WE INITIATE CONTACTS WITH THE PLO, WHILE  
THE SYRIANS WILL USE THE INFORMATION IN THEIR EFFORT  
TO ALTER PLO LEADERSHIP CONFIGURATION. FAHMY WONDERED  
IF WE HAD DECIDED TO GIVE IT TO THE SYRIANS AND  
JORDANIANS AS A DELIBERATE EFFORT TO ABORT THE IDEA,  
WHICH HE THOUGHT WILL PROBABLY RESULT FROM OUR ACTION.  
THE SAUDIS AND AGYPTIANS, IN HIS VIEW, ARE ANXIOUS TO  
HAVE AN OPEN DIALOGUE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN USG AND PLO;  
THE SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS MAY GIVE LIP SERVICE TO THE

IDEA, BUT ACTUALLY OPPOSE IT. I EMPHASIEZED TO HIM THAT OUR ACTION IN GIVING THE REFORMULATION TO ALL THREE IS IN NO WAY INTENDED TO SCUTTLE THE EFFORT, BUT TO BE SURE THAT ALL OF US ARE WORKING FROM SAME TEXT. FAHMY REMAINED CONVINCED THAT WE HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN GIVING IT TO THE SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS. IF WE HAD SIMPLY GIVEN IT TO THE SAUDIS AND EGYPTIANS, BOTH COULD HAVE PRESSED PLO TO ARRIVE AT MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY FORMULATION. IT MIGHT HAVE TAKEN FOUR OR FIVE EXCHANGES, BUT IN HIS VIEW THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN REASONABLE PROSPECT THAT AN ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION COULD HAVE BEEN FOUND. WITH LIKELY SYRIAN AND JORDANIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE EFFORT, HE WAS LESS SANGUINE THAT ANYTHING WILL COME OUT OF IT.

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4. IN AGREEING TO SEND THE REFORMULATION TO ARAFAT, FAHMY AGAIN MADE THE POINT THAT ANY DIALOGUE BETWEEN USG AND PLO SHOULD BE OPEN AND ABOVE BOARD. IT SHOULD NOT BE SECRET. ONLY IF IT IS OPEN CAN PLO LEADERSHIP BE ASKED TO TAKE THE RISK OF ISSUING SOME KIND OF A STATEMENT. I SAID I DID NOT KNOW PRECISE NATURE OF WHAT YOU AND HE HAD AGREED UPON IN THIS REGARD, BUT NOTED REF MESSAGE SPEAKS OF "OPEN CONTACTS WITH PLO," WHICH SHOULD ALLAY HIS CONCERN. FAHMY STATED THAT THIS IS IN ACCORD WITH YOUR PERTINENT TALK AND SEEMED SATISFIED. CHASE

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